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## VERGILIANISM<sup>1</sup>

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NOTES BY CHARLES KNAPP

Professor J. W. Mackail uses the term "Virgilianism"<sup>1a</sup> in a somewhat restricted and technical sense, to which I shall refer later. At the outset of this paper I will confess that I have stretched the word, perhaps to the limit of its elasticity, to cover *any interest in things Vergilian*; and I shall ask you to examine, with me, some of the changed views concerning Vergil's life and early writings, views that have changed radically within my generation.

I was introduced to the great poet by an edition of Vergil prepared by the Reverend J. G. Cooper, whose somewhat clumsy volume, *The Works of Virgil*, bore, in my copy, the date 1862<sup>2</sup>. Mr. Cooper agreed (xi)

<sup>1</sup>This paper was sent to me by Mr. Clarence W. Gleason, of The Roxbury Latin School, West Roxbury, Massachusetts, in the summer of 1931. Mr. Gleason explained that it had been found, after Mr. Lowell's death, among his papers. Mr. Gleason sent it to me in the belief that the paper deserved publication.

The paper seemed to me, at once, well worthy of publication, for at least two reasons. First, it is interesting and instructive to examine what, toward the end of a long life devoted to the study and the teaching of the Classics, a competent student and teacher had to say about Vergil. Secondly, the paper gives a hint of the history of Vergilian studies, both in this country and abroad. See the end of the first paragraph of the text, above.

I had to lay Mr. Lowell's paper away till I could make time to do certain things that, I saw at once, must be done with it. Mr. Lowell had written his paper for presentation at a meeting. He had never revised it for publication. There was no documentation whatever. Not a single reference was given for any of the statements.

Last summer I devoted to this paper the work that was necessary to make it conform to the Style Sheet of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY. In addition, I verified every quotation, after I had located it (sometimes only after much expenditure of time and labor, and consultation of various books). I inserted the proper references to the text of the Appendix Vergiliana, and to books and article.

It remains to remind readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY that for many years Mr. Lowell occupied a very prominent and important place in the study and the teaching of the Classics in the Secondary School system of New England. He was long Headmaster of the Roxbury Latin School. He died in 1927, or 1928.

As was stated in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24.169, note 1a, the spelling *Vergil* has always been used in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY itself, that is in the body of articles and reviews that reach the public through its columns. The reasons for this practice were set forth by Professor Lodge in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 1.49 (November 16, 1907).

It goes without saying that in *quotations* that appear in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY the spelling of the original is followed.

<sup>1a</sup>Professor Mackail's use of the term "Virgilianism" was nowhere explained by Mr. Lowell. Many years ago Professor Mackail published a lecture entitled *Virgil and Virgilianism*, in a volume called *Lectures on Poetry* (London and New York, Longmans, 1911). See pages 48-71. In this lecture Mr. Mackail nowhere expressly defines his term "Virgilianism". He comes nearest to doing so in the following words on page 53: "... The Eclogues, like Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, were issued and accepted as the manifesto of the new poetry. Their shy, diffident, reserved author found himself the leader of a movement, the gate-vein of the heart's blood (to use the vivid phrase applied by Browning to the poet who, nearly thirteen centuries later, attempted a like task anew), which was to fill the exhausted channels of poetry. Virgil became, at once and once for all, the mouthpiece of that larger movement which, as we now look back upon it in the result, we may best describe by the name of Virgilianism."

In the text of this paper, immediately after the mark for note 20, appears a statement made by Professor Rand concerning Professor Mackail's attitude toward the Appendix Vergiliana. There Professor Rand gives his understanding of the term "Virgilianism" as used by Professor Mackail.

<sup>2</sup>My copy of this work, called "Twelfth Edition", bears the following title: "Publii Virgilio Maronis Opera; or, The Works of Virgil, With Copious Notes, Mythological, Biographical, Historical, Geographical, Philosophical, Astronomical, Critical, and Explanatory, in English, Compiled From the Best Commentators,

with modern scholars about the date of the poet's birth (October 15, 70 B. C.). Concerning that there seems never to have been dispute. Mr. Cooper continues (xi), "His parents were in humble circumstances . . ." Many editors since Cooper's time have repeated this tradition. Thus Professor Fairclough<sup>3</sup> says, "... He was 'of rustic parentage, and brought up in the bush and forest' . . ." Perhaps too much stress has been laid on a casual remark of Macrobius<sup>4</sup> (*rusticus parentibus nato inter silvas et frutices educto* . . .). Vergil is said also to have been a potter's son<sup>5</sup>. Professor Frank<sup>6</sup>, however, is inclined to think (9) that, while Vergil's father may have made pottery, "... Vergil's leisured competence during many years did not draw from such a trickling source . . ." He is also inclined (10) to accept the story given by Probus, "that sixty soldiers received their allotments from the estates taken from Vergil's father". From other data he draws the following conclusion (11): "... Presumably, therefore, Vergil's father belonged to a landholding family with some honors of municipal service to his credit"<sup>7</sup>.

Professor De Witt (13-14)<sup>8</sup> goes even further than Professor Frank, and (30) pictures the poet as "the eldest son of an affluent family living in Rome off his rents . . ."

Recurring to Mr. Cooper, we find in his book (xi) the statement that Vergil lived seven years at Andes, then went to Cremona for ten years, "till he assumed the *Toga virilis* <at 17> . . .", removed presently to Mediolanum (Milan), and soon after to Naples, where he studied Greek and philosophy and composed his Sixth Eclogue. Mr. Cooper continues:

... Having finished his studies at Naples, which occupied several years, it is said, he visited Rome; but it is more probable that he returned to Mantua, and retired to his paternal inheritance . . .

With Many that are New, Together with an Ordo of the Most Intricate Parts of the Text, Upon the same Page With the Text" (New York, Sheldon and Company, 1864. Pp. xvi, 615). The Preface of my copy is dated "New York. Oct. 1827."

<sup>3</sup>See H. Rushton Fairclough, *Works of Virgil*, With an English Translation (The Loeb Classical Library, two volumes, 1925, 1918). For the view expressed in the quotation in the text above see 1.vii. The words in the quotation which are set in single quotation-marks are Professor Fairclough's rendering of a passage in Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.2.1.

<sup>4</sup>See Macrobius, *Saturnalia* 5.2.1.

<sup>5</sup>See Donatus-Suetonius, *Vita Vergilii* 1.

The various "Lives" of Vergil may be consulted conveniently in the following works: Henry Nettleship, *Ancient Lives of Vergil*, With an Essay on the Poems of Vergil in Connection With his Life and Times (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1879); E. Diehl, *Die Vitae Vergilianae und Ihre Antiken Quellen* (Bonn, Marcus and Weber, 1911). This booklet, as I said in my edition of the *Aeneid* . . .<sup>3</sup> (1928), Introduction, § 358, "is cheap, convenient, and accurate. It contains also explanatory notes"; Jacob Brummer, *Vitae Vergilianae* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1912). This work gives text only. It is less accurate than Diehl's booklet.

<sup>6</sup>Tenney Frank, *Vergil, A Biography* (New York, Holt, 1922).

<sup>7</sup>See Norman Wentworth De Witt, *Virgil's Biographia Litteraria*, Preface, vi (New York, Oxford University Press, 1923): "... Once more, when we read in the so-called Preface of Probus that Virgil's lands were assigned to sixty veterans, we accept the statement as being of a sort that the fabulous commentators did not invent . . ." On page 13 he asserts at length his conviction that "the Virgils . . ." were well to do.

<sup>8</sup>See note 7, above.

These statements have been proved erroneous<sup>18</sup>. In the first place Vergil assumed the *toga virilis* on his sixteenth birthday, according to the implication of Professor De Witt<sup>9</sup>, on his fifteenth according to Professor Knapp<sup>10</sup> and Professor Frank<sup>11</sup>, who follow Donatus-Suetonius (virilem togam, quam XV anno natali suo accepit . . .). Professor De Witt believes (14) that Vergil then passed a year at Milan, until the early autumn of 54 B. C. At any rate, modern scholars are agreed that, when Vergil left Milan, he went *not* to Naples, but to Rome. The suggestion that he studied Greek and philosophy and composed his Sixth Eclogue before visiting Rome is absurd. From a careful study of all available sources, Professor DeWitt suggests (20, 36-37, 68) the following order of Vergil's activities from the time he entered Rome until he began to write the Eclogues:

	Age
54 Coming to Rome, in early autumn of 54	16
54-49 Study: no record	16-21
49-43 In war (see Catalepton 13)	21-22
48-45 Rome: then Naples (Catalepton 1, 13, 6, 5; the best evidence is afforded by 5)	22-25
45-42 "Epicurean Days" (Vergil wrote the earliest of the Eclogues near his twenty-eighth birthday; just after the assassination of Caesar [44 B. C.] he returned to Rome, and there wrote <i>sic vos non vobis</i> , and Catalepton 2 and 10).	25-28

So much for the early life of Vergil.

Now let us glance briefly, not at the Aeneid, the Georgics, and the Eclogues, but at the Culex, Ciris, Catalepton, Copa, Moretum, Aetna, Dirae, and Lydia.

The publication of Robinson Ellis's Appendix Vergiliana<sup>12</sup> revived an interest in the so-called Minor Poems of Vergil which has continued to the present time. The authenticity of these poems has been much discussed in the past; but those whose memories extend so far back as the nineteenth century will recall that then almost nobody believed that the Minor Poems had

ought Vergilian about them. Some had never seen them; few had read any of them; none had read them all. Men felt that, if they were spurious, it was a waste of time to devote one's energies to unraveling them.

The great English Latinist, H. A. J. Munro, in 1867, speaking of the Aetna<sup>13</sup>, said: "As it has manifestly no claim whatever, less even than the *culex* or *ciris* to be his <Vergil's> work, I need not controvert what none will now maintain". Professor Gudeman<sup>14</sup>, in his Latin Literature of the Empire, declares that the "spuriousness <of the Minor Poems> is established by incontrovertible proofs. . . ." Even in the eleventh edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, we read<sup>15</sup>:

... Vergil wrote a *Culex*, but not the *Culex* now extant. . . . The *Aetna*, the *Ciris* and the *Copa* are clearly not Vergil's. The *Moretum* is said to have been translated by him from a Greek poem. . . . The case of the *Catalepton* . . . is peculiar. Two of these little poems (*Ite hinc inanes* and *Villula, quae Sironis eras*) are generally accepted as Vergil's; opinion varies as to the rest, with very little to go upon, but generally rejecting them.

The writer of that article<sup>16</sup> seems hardly to have been aware of the trend of Vergilian scholarship. With the opening of the twentieth century, even before Ellis's Appendix Vergiliana appeared, Franz Skutsch published in 1901 an article<sup>17</sup>, *Aus Vergils Frühzeit*, which attracted wide attention. His main thesis was that whoever wrote the *Ciris* wrote it before the Aeneid appeared and did not imitate the latter. He also argued for the early date and probable genuineness of the *Culex*. Since that time, as Professor Rand<sup>18</sup> says (104), "the number of those who would admit some, at least, of the disputed works into the Vergilian canon has constantly been on the increase. . . ." Vollmer, in his revision of Baehrens's *Poetae Latini Minores*, Volume 1, Appendix Vergiliana (Leipzig, Teubner, 1910), writes<sup>19</sup>: "I find no reason for doubting the genuineness of any of the poems included in the ancient account of Vergil's writings".

Professor Rand<sup>20</sup> calls attention to the fact that Mackail, the eminent literary critic and admirer of Vergil, takes a mean position between those who would have all or none. Mackail, he says<sup>20</sup>,

<sup>18</sup>See page 32 of Munro's edition of the Aetna (Cambridge, England, 1867). For a reference to these words of Munro see Rand, 104 (see note 18, below).

<sup>14</sup>Alfred Gudeman, *Latin Literature of the Empire, Selected and Edited, With Revised Texts and With Brief Introductions*, in two volumes, I, Prose, II, Poetry (New York, American Book Company, 1898, 1899). For the statement in the text, above, see 2.1.

<sup>15</sup>I have not been able to locate this reference, since I no longer possess a copy of the eleventh edition of the Britannica. But, in the fourth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica, in the article Vergil, by William Young Sellar, I find (23.182) exactly the same passage, word for word.

<sup>16</sup>The writer of the article was that excellent scholar, William Young Sellar (see note 15, above), author of an admirable book, *Roman Poets of the Augustan Age, Virgil* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1883). The "tread" began *after* Sellar wrote.

<sup>17</sup>I possess this in the form of a book, in two parts (Leipzig, Teubner, 1901, 1906).

<sup>18</sup>Professor E. K. Rand discusses the matter in his paper, *Young Virgil's Poetry*, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology 30 (1919), 103-185. A bibliography of the subject, sufficient for all (at any rate for most) purposes, may be found in the notes to Professor Rand's paper.

<sup>19</sup>See Volume 1 of Friederich Vollmer's revision of Aemilius Baehrens, *Poetae Latini Minores* (Leipzig, Teubner, 1910). This volume deals with the Appendix Vergiliana. I could not find in this volume the statement attributed by Mr. Lowell to Vollmer. On pages 30-36 Vollmer gives a long list of writings that deal with poems of the Appendix Vergiliana. Mr. Lowell was quoting Professor Rand (104).

<sup>20</sup>See pages 104-105 of the monograph named in note 18, above.

<sup>18</sup>Any one who wishes to write a life of Vergil should study carefully an article entitled *Biographical Criticism of Vergil Since the Renaissance*, by Professor Duane Reed Stuart, of Princeton University, which was published in <University of North Carolina> Studies in Philology 19 (1922), 1-30. On page 30, Professor Stuart says, ". . . Since the appearance in 1910, of Birt's remarkable book, *Jugendverse und Heimatpoesie Vergils*, the first commentary on *Catalepton* worthy of the name, these little poems < = the poems of the Appendix Vergiliana > have come into their rights as a preferred source of knowledge for Vergil's life. The writer of the Suetonian Life <of Vergil> did not use this collection of poems; hence in relation to the life they have, unlike the *Eclogues*, the authority of a separate source. As the years go by, the credentials presented by *Culex*, *Ciris*, and *Catalepton* to hold the place assigned to them by external evidence as genuine works of Vergil, seem more and more indubitable".

In *The Classical Journal* 19:198-214 (January, 1924) I published an article entitled *Legend and History in the Aeneid*. At page 200, note 2, I referred to Professor Stuart's paper, and I called attention to the fact that, being human, he had not been always true, in practice, to his theoretical principles. I noted also there that Professor Frank nowhere in his book, *Vergil, A Biography* (see note 6, above), discusses the sources of our knowledge of Vergil's life, or even clearly expresses in set terms his attitude toward Donatus.

<sup>9</sup>I cannot reconcile this statement with what Professor De Witt says on page 14 of the work named in note 7, above.

<sup>10</sup>Mr. Lowell had in mind the first version of my edition of Vergil, Introduction, § 25 (1901). I repeated this statement in the second version of my book (1928), Introduction, § 41.

<sup>11</sup>See page 15 of the work named in note 6, above.

<sup>12</sup>Robinson Ellis, *Appendix Vergiliana, Sive Carmina Minora Vergilio Adtributa* (Oxford: At the Clarendon Press. The title-page bears no date; the Praefatio is dated in March, 1907). This is a volume of the Oxford Classical Text Series.

... as a reasonable man cannot resist the evidence recently adduced for the genuineness of the *Appendix Vergiliana*. Mackail, agreeing heartily with the feeling of the last century that the poems in general cannot be ascribed to Virgil, puts them in the realm of *Virgilianism*. Virgil was one of a group of brother-poets, who like Sidney and Spenser, Wordsworth and Coleridge, collaborated....

Professor Rand adds (105):

... This convenient explanation allows us to claim for Virgil as many and as much of the minor poems as we can stand.

Ever since 1908 there have been accessions to the ranks of those who believe that Virgil wrote some, if not the most, of these minor poems, and that, taken as a whole, they form a kind of autobiography of Virgil. Among these we may note Professor Phillimore (1910), Miss S. Elizabeth Jackson (1911), and W. Warde Fowler (1914)<sup>21</sup>.

But of more recent writers, those whom I find most interesting are Professor Edward Kennard Rand, of Harvard University, who wrote upon Young Virgil's Poetry in the Harvard Studies in Classical Philology<sup>22</sup>, in 1919, Professor Tenney Frank, of The Johns Hopkins University, who published a biography of Virgil in 1922<sup>23</sup>, and Professor Norman Wentworth DeWitt<sup>24</sup>, of the University of Toronto, who in 1923 published a book entitled Virgil's Biographia Litteraria. To these we may add a later word from Professor Mackail, whose opinions I have already quoted<sup>25</sup>, in one of the volumes of the series entitled Our Debt to Greece and Rome; the volume is called Virgil and His Meaning to the World of Today. This was published in November, 1922<sup>26</sup>. Professor Mackail considers the Ciris, the Moretum, and the Culex the most important of the Minor Poems, but doubts their authenticity (54-58). Professors Rand, Frank, and DeWitt accept most of the Minor Poems as undoubtedly genuine<sup>27</sup>. Professor Rand, however, rejects the Moretum (178-179) and the Lydia (182-184). So does Professor Frank<sup>28</sup>. Again, recalling Suetonius's

<sup>21</sup>For these (and other) writings on the Appendix Vergiliana see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 6.110 B, 13.145, 24.70, 169, and note 3, 170, and note 6a. See also Israel E. Drabkin, The Copa, An Investigation of the Problem of Date and Authorship, With Notes on Some Passages of the Poem (Columbia University Dissertation, Geneva, New York, The W. F. Humphrey Press, 1930). Dr. Drabkin's Bibliography, given on pages 105-106, under the caption List of Abbreviations, is excellent. Mention will be found there of six articles by Professor Robert S. Radford, whose message is that the pieces of the so-called Appendix Vergiliana were written, if not wholly, at any rate in large part by Ovid, not by Virgil. If this is so, the biographical value of the pieces is somewhat different from that ascribed to them by e. g. Professors De Witt, Frank, Rand, and Stuart.

For a review, by Professor Marbury B. Ogle, of Dr. Drabkin's dissertation see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24.45-46.

<sup>22</sup>See note 18, above. <sup>23</sup>See note 6, above.

<sup>24</sup>See note 7, above. To these writings we may add at least two, published after Mr. Lowell wrote: Henry W. Prescott, The Development of Virgil's Art (The University of Chicago Press, 1927), and Edward Kennard Rand, The Magical Art of Virgil (Harvard University Press, 1933). I had something to say, in THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 24.71-72, about Professor Prescott's book.

<sup>25</sup>See e. g. the opening paragraph of the text, and the text following the marking for note 20.

<sup>26</sup>This book was originally published by the Marshall Jones Company (Boston). It is now obtainable through Longmans, Green and Company (New York).

<sup>27</sup>Professor Prescott (see note 24, above) states his attitude toward the Appendix Vergiliana very briefly, almost incidentally (21, 72). He thinks that few (if any) pieces of the Appendix can be clearly shown to be from Virgil's hand.

<sup>28</sup>For his rejection of the Lydia see 131, note 18. The name Moretum does not occur in Professor Frank's brief (and wholly inadequate) Index (197-200).

words about the authorship of the Aetna<sup>29</sup> (*de qua ambigitur*), Professor Frank is in doubt about the origin of that somewhat lurid poem. Professor DeWitt says (Preface) that he began his study with the assumption that all the Minor Poems I have mentioned either stand or fall together. He is now convinced that they stand<sup>30</sup>. He has no doubt (98-99) that Suetonius thought Virgil wrote the Aetna (*de qua ambigitur*). He also (71-76) accepts the Moretum, of which Mackail<sup>31</sup> once at least thought highly, and so would classify it as 'Vergilian'; of the "much misunderstood *Lydia*..." (166), which Professors Rand and Frank reject, Professor DeWitt says (114) that it "enjoys the same manuscript authority as the *Dirae*...", which all three accept.

Let us turn, then, to a brief examination of these Vergilian works, and see what they contain.

#### CULEX

The argument of the poem called Culex (414 verses) is as follows. A rustic brought forth his sheep to pasture in the early morning. As the heat grew intense, the shepherd led them beside the whispering streams and made them lie down in the shade. Then he, too, *Stratus humi dulcem capiebat corde quietem*... (see verse 161). But the unwary fellow had made his bed in the path of a poisonous snake, which, itself seeking shade, swelled up in rage at sight of an intruder. The snake hissed, and writhed, and, hot in mind (*ardet mente*, 179), prepared to crush the interloper; but, just as he was about to strike, there buzzed up an insignificant mosquito, *parvulus... umoris... alumnus*, 'tiny offspring of the swamp'<sup>31</sup>, a simple *culex* (183). This little insect, without so much as a preliminary hum, bit the sleeping shepherd in a corner of an eye. Then appeared the eternal triangle—Life, Death, and Sleep, the Brother of Death. The sleeper woke, and gave a resounding slap (187-189). The *culex* died beneath the stroke; and then the shepherd saw, advancing to attack him, a huge serpent with scaly back and jaws dripping foam and blood (the last word is evidently proleptic, for the snake had not bitten anybody yet). Thereupon the rustic, though *exanimis* and *vix compos mente* (191), tore a branch from a convenient tree (192: *validum dextra detraxit ab arbore truncum*), and beat a mortal tattoo upon the serpent's head. As the shepherd was only half awake, he forgot to be scared until the reptile was dead: then he sat down to meditate (201).

The young poet, in a rather florid passage, of which

<sup>29</sup>Professor Frank discusses the Aetna on pages 58-63. The first sentence and the last two sentences of this discussion run as follows: "The first fruit of Virgil's studies in evolutionary science at Naples was the *Aetna*, if indeed the poem be his...." "This may be prose, but it has not a little of the magnificence of the Lucretian logic. The man who wrote this was at least a spiritual kinsman of Virgil." These utterances leave me gasping, especially the first, with its *Ipse dixit* first clause followed by a *caveat*.

<sup>30</sup>A man who begins with an assumption is all too likely to find evidence—or what he can easily regard as evidence—in support of that assumption. In THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 21, in the course of an article entitled Scholarship (81-84, 89-93), I had a good deal to say about right methods of investigation. In particular I spoke (81) of the duty incumbent upon the scholar to keep his ideas on a subject from premature precipitation.

<sup>31</sup>See his book, Latin Literature. My copy bears the name of Charles Scribner's Sons as publishers, and the date 1895. The seven-line Preface is unsigned, and without date. I suspect that the book was first published in England.

<sup>32</sup>Professor Fairclough's rendering, "a tiny nursling of the damp....", is better.



at the age of fifteen he was doubtless somewhat proud, continues his tale as follows. I translate a few lines baldly (202-209):

'Now in the *bigae* of Erebus the oncoming Night shakes <the reins above her> steeds, and tardy Vesper comes forth from golden Oeta, when the shepherd, having herded his flock, retires in the fast-gathering dusk and prepares to give repose to his weary body. As gentle Sleep invaded his frame and his languid limbs were steeped in soporific balm, the ghost of the *Culex* appeared to him and buzzed reproaches concerning the circumstances of his sad demise'.

The poet Spenser versifies these lines thus<sup>32</sup>:

By this the Night forth from the darksome bowre  
Of Erebus her teamed steeds 'gan call,  
And laesie Vesper, in his timely howre  
From golden Oeta 'gan proceed withall,  
When as the shepherd, after this sharpe stowre,  
Seeing the doubled shadowes low to fall,  
Gathering his straying flocke does homeward fare  
And unto rest his wearie joynts prepare.

Into whose sense so soone as lighter sleepe  
Was entered, and now loosing everie lim  
Sweete slumbring deaw in carelesnesse did steepe,  
The image of the Gnat appeared to him,  
And in sad tearmes 'gan sorrowfully weepe,  
With grislie countenance and visage grim,  
Wailing the wrong which he had done of late  
In steed of good, hastning his cruell fate.

The passage might doubtless have been abbreviated. It reminds one of certain lines in Longfellow's *Spanish Student* (Act 1, Scene 5). A lovelorn swain is giving a mental picture of his innamorata to a chum:

*Victorian*.—She lies asleep,  
And from her parted lips her gentle breath  
Comes like the fragrance from the lips of flowers.  
Her tender limbs are still, and on her breast  
The cross she prayed to, ere she fell asleep,  
Rises and falls with the swift tide of dreams,  
Like a light barge safe moored.

*Hypolito*.—Which means, in prose,  
She's sleeping with her mouth a little open!

In like manner we may condense the passage of the *Culex* with which we are dealing into 'That night the shepherd had bad dreams, caused by the mosquito <bite>'. We read on, and are not surprised that he saw snakes, also, in his sleep; but that is not all. Terrors multiply (210-383). This is no ordinary nightmare. We thread our way "'mid Gorgons, and Hydras, and Chimaeras dire", in an underworld equivalent to the Sixth Aeneid, the first two books of *Paradise Lost*, Dante's *Inferno*, and a mythological dictionary rolled into one. It is a good preparation for a Vergil teacher to read the *Culex*—understandingly; but, if he has never studied Greek, he ought not to approach the *Culex* till he has read, in The Loeb Classical Library if possible, the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, Apollonius Rhodius, Herodotus, Plutarch's *Lives*, and the three great Greek tragedians. He ought, besides, to be familiar with Livy and Ovid. Then he will feel more at home among Erichthonius and his brood, the Laestrygonians, Tisiphone and Persephone, and "The Anthropophagi, and men whose heads Do grow beneath their shoulders".

<sup>32</sup>The quotation reproduces verses 313-328 of the poem called *Virgil's Gnat*.

Macaulay's schoolboy would be constrained to hide his diminished head in the presence of the lad of fifteen who is writing this encyclopedic poetry. It may not be *above* criticism, in one dimension, but it is far *beyond* it in another.

When the grateful shepherd awoke, he was so impressed with his dream and his escape that he reared a monument in honor of his preserver (391-414), a monument substantially built of earth and stones, faced with marble, and planted atop with flowers of many colors and of many kinds. On the marble front were graven these verses:

Parve Culex, pecudum custos tibi tale merenti  
funeris officium vitae pro munere reddit.

Petite mosquito, a shepherd here doth give  
Thee rites of death, to pay his right to live.

Some critics have pointed out defects in the *Culex*, and say it is unworthy of the author of the *Aeneid*. But may not a schoolboy write a mock-heroic poem, if he chooses? Had Vergil not read the *Batrachomyomachia*, the 'Battle of the Frogs and the Mice'? Since his day has not Pope, in the plenitude of his powers, given us the *Rape of the Lock*? Did not Cowper bend to the congenial task of writing verses about a sofa? The last-named poet, in the course of six somewhat tedious cantos, wherein we find felicities and inanities commingled, frequently illustrated one of his own most graphic epigrams by

Dropping buckets into empty wells  
And growing old in drawing nothing up.

In one place he even refers to the *Batrachomyomachia*, and the *Culex*, and the burlesque poem, called *The Splendid Shilling*<sup>33</sup> as an apology for offering his Muse a green cucumber (*The Task* 3.446-462):

To raise the prickly and green-coated gourd,  
So grateful to the palate, and when rare  
So coveted, else base and disesteemed—  
Food for the vulgar merely,—is an art  
That toiling ages have but just matured,  
And at this moment unassayed in song.

Yet gnats have had, and frogs and mice, long since,

Their eulogy; those sang the Mantuan bard,  
And these the Grecian, in ennobling strains;  
And in thy numbers, Philips, shines for aye  
The solitary Shilling. Pardon then,  
Ye sage dispensers of poetic fame,  
Th' ambition of one meaner far, whose powers,  
Presuming an attempt not less sublime,  
Pant for the praise of dressing to the taste  
Of critic appetite, no sordid fare,  
A cucumber, while costly yet and scarce.

Add the facts that the Vergilian scholar Voss made a translation of the *Culex* into German verse, under the title *Die Mücke*, that François Biacca (Parmindo Ibichense) rendered the poem into Italian verse as *La Zenzara*, that the Count de Valori gave it in French verse, entitling it *Le Moucheron*, while our own Edmund Spenser (already quoted) made an English version known as *Virgil's Gnat*, and famous in its day, and we may conclude that a study of the *Culex*, with all its crudities, may be worth while.

<sup>33</sup>This poem, by John Philips, was published in 1705.

## CIRIS

Let us next consider the Ciris (541 verses). We are told that the Culex and the Ciris are both *epyllia*. But that statement is not very enlightening. One intuitively feels that an *epyllion* is a little epic; but in what sense is it 'little'? We perhaps have the same problem as in our use of the word *minor*. Why are Milton's *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso* classified (by some editors) among his Minor Poems? Because they are less important than *Agonistes*, or merely because they are shorter? Why are Amos, Habakkuk, and Zechariah Minor Prophets in comparison with Ezekiel and Jeremiah? Because they are less in importance or less in volume? Does *epyllion* refer to quantity, or quality, or both? A careful examination of some typical *epyllia* might help. But just here looms a difficulty. Greek and Latin literature is said to have abounded with them. But Professor Carl Newell Jackson<sup>34</sup> says that to-day less than a dozen remain. "Two or three among the idylls of Theocritus and two of the poems of Moschus" are the Greek remains; while in Latin, besides the Culex and the Ciris, he finds only Catullus 64 and the Aristaetus episode in the fourth book of the Georgics. Therefore to find whether an *epyllion* is a little epic, or a romantic epic, or a mock-heroic poem, or a parody, perhaps we can do no better than compare the Ciris with the Culex.

The first fifty verses of the Ciris are taken up with personalities. The author seems to have promised his friend Messalla to write a poem of the sort which the Ciris shall be; yet he is wearied of fine writing, and rhetoric, and Rome, and is looking forward to some years in Naples, where he may abandon himself to the charms of philosophy. But a promise is a promise, and so he will write this *epyllion*. He says (46-47):

Accipe dona meo multum vigilata labore  
promissa atque diu iam tandem <reddita vota>....

He takes the story of Scylla, daughter of Nisus of Megara, told in about a dozen lines by Apollodorus<sup>35</sup>, and constructs a romantic and tragic tale of nearly 500 verses, full of blood and hair, passion and perjury. He tries at first to show that his Scylla is not the monster of Homer, begirt with sea-dogs, and a terror to mariners, but a lovelorn maid, who loved not wisely but too well, and was at last punished (or was it rewarded?) by being changed into a sea-fowl—the Ciris (49-489). Hence comes the name of the poem. Professor Frank thinks (87) the poem was not completed until 43 B. C., several years after its inception (48 B. C.: see page 35). Professor DeWitt (37, 47) places its composition in the year 45 B. C., when Vergil was twenty-four or twenty-five years old.

The tale runs thus. Minos, King of Crete, was besieging Megara, in vain, for on the head of its king, Nisus, grew a red lock of hair among the white, a lock that rendered him invincible (101-128). But Cupid and Juno contrived to have Scylla fall in love with Minos

(129-162). The story of her passion constantly reminds one of Dido. In fact, as Professor DeWitt says (49),

In the development of Virgil's thought the Ciris is the antecedent of the Dido tragedy, just as the inferno of the Culex is the forerunner of the Sixth Aeneid....

So in her frenzy Scylla bargains with Minos that for his love she will send him the magic lock (181-190). There is an element of suspense in the verses which describe the maid's midnight mission to her father's couch (206-219); she is like the "Blind Fury with the abhorred shears <That> slits the thin-spun life", for the life of Nisus hung by his hair, as did that of Samson and Absalom. The maid, to her vexation and our own, is intercepted in her course by a garrulous old nurse, Carme; the nurse has a long tale to tell of Nisus and his 'goings-on' with her daughter Britomartis (286-309), and tries to send Scylla back to bed. She delays the action for that night (310-348). Next day they try persuasions and charms on Nisus, hoping to induce him to yield to his foe and to accept him as his son-in-law (349-379). All is vain. Nisus is obstinate—or steadfast, according to the point of view. Then the action becomes unduly rapid. Before we are prepared, the lock is cut—no one says how—and Scylla, instead of reposing in her lover's arms, as a reward for her treachery is being dragged through the sea by a rope, in the wake of one of her lover's ships (386-403). She reproaches Minos much as Dido does Aeneas, but with far greater reason (404-458). Her course lay among horrid sea-monsters, until Amphitrite lent a hand at metamorphosis, turned her into a sea-fowl, and named her Ciris (from the Greek *κείρειν*, 'to shear') (459-489)<sup>36</sup>. But even then Jupiter punished her for her crime against her father and her fatherland, and changed Nisus to a sea-eagle which evermore pursues and terrifies the smaller bird (520-541).

## CATALEPTON

The term *Catalepton* seems to be a transliteration of the Greek *κατὰ λεπτὸν* and may be rendered by 'A Collection of Trifles'. Yet under the careful analysis of scholars these 'trifles' seem to have a significance not unlike that of the Sonnets of Shakespeare, and to be, perhaps, even more autobiographical. There are two divisions: the three Priapeans, or garden poems, written about 44 B. C., and fourteen<sup>37</sup> Epigrammata, written at various times prior to 42 B. C.

<sup>34</sup>Professor Fairclough (2.443; see note 3, above) accepts this derivation. But J. B. Hofmann, in his revision of Walde, *Lateinisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 221, rejects the connection (for a review, by Professor E. H. Sturtevant, of Parts 1-4 of this latest edition of Walde's work see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 25.135-136. Seven parts of the revised edition have now appeared). Hofmann follows Professor Francis A. Wood, *The American Journal of Philology*, 49. 51, in connecting the name Ciris with *κίρρος* "tawny, orange-tawny", or, as Hofmann puts it, "gelb".

Professor Wood says the fish *κίρρος* was "named from its color"; to Hofmann Ciris is a "gelbischer Seefisch". Professor Wood's discussion of *κίρρος* occurs in an article entitled Greek Fish-Names, which appeared in three parts in *The American Journal of Philology* 48.297-325, 49.36-56, 167-187.

<sup>37</sup>The Priapea can be found most conveniently in Professor Fairclough's translation of Vergil, 2.480-485 (see note 3, above). In 2.486-509, under the caption *Catalepton*, Professor Fairclough gives fifteen pieces, but he evidently regards the last of these as un-Vergilian. The only commentary on the *Catalepton* known to me is to be found in a work entitled *Jugend verse und Heimatpoesie Vergils, Erklärung des Catalepton*, by Theodor Birt (Leipzig, Teubner, 1910. Pp. 198. Compare note 8a, above). Birt groups Priapea and Epigrammata in one sequence. He numbers the Priapea Ia, IIa, IIIa (21-47). He then gives (47-184) sixteen pieces, Number 15 he ascribes to Varius. Number 16, a piece of four verses, he regards as der Sammlung augenscheinlich ganz fern.... (see page 178).

<sup>34</sup>I am unable to supply the reference here.

<sup>35</sup>The reference here is to the *Bibliotheca* of Apollodorus. This has been translated by Sir James G. Frazer, in *The Loeb Classical Library* (two volumes, 1921, 1921). For a review, by Charles Knapp, of this translation see THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY 15.197-198. Something is said in the review of the contents and the value of the *Bibliotheca*. The Scylla-Nisus story appears in the *Bibliotheca* 3.15.8 (Frazer, 2.117).

Of the Epigrammata (the pieces in the Catalepton proper), the first (48-45 B. C.) seems to imply that in early life Vergil had a love affair (though, probably, we should take the poem in a Pickwickian sense). The second and the tenth (45-44 B. C.) are attacks on two of Antony's supporters. The third, sixth, and twelfth (45-44 B. C.) seem to be epigrams against Antony. The fourth is a friendly poem to Octavius Musa; so also is the humorous eleventh poem. Of the fifth poem Professor De Witt (33) writes thus:

The gem of the *Catalepton* is No. v, the gleeful farewell to Rome with all the abominations that it signified to Virgil, its controversies, bombast, pedantry, stupidity, satire, and foppery....

It is brief (14 verses). The opening verses, Professor Frank says (20), show "unmistakably the nature of the stuff on which he <the poet> had been fed...." He versifies them as follows (20):

Begone ye useless paint-pots of the school;  
Your phrases reek, but not with Attic scent,  
Tarquitius' and Silius' and Varro's drool:  
A witless crew, with learning temulent.  
And ye begone, ye tinkling cymbals vain,  
That call the youths to driveling insane.

This was written just before Vergil retired to Naples, in 48 B. C., to study philosophy under a famous master. In verses 8-9 Vergil says, *Nos ad beatos vela mittimus portus, magni petentes docta dicta Sironis*...., "We spread our sails toward the blessed harbors, eager to hear the learned words of the illustrious Siro".

Catalepton 7 is a 'trifle' of only four verses, addressed to Varius, and significant of their early friendship. Professor DeWitt, with a fertile imagination (63-65), reads into it the idea that Varius had criticized his friend for introducing Greek words into his Latin verses, and that this epigram is a *placebo*.

Catalepton 8 was written in the period which Professor DeWitt (36-46) denominates "Epicurean Days", at Naples. These days extended from the beginning of 45 B. C. to the close of 42 B. C., while Vergil was between twenty-four and twenty-eight years of age. This poem, addressed to Siro's villa, seems to indicate that disturbing rumors had come from Mantua to the effect that the soldiers of the future Emperor were clamoring for Vergil's paternal acres, and that he and his father (aged, and, according to Suetonius, blind also) must reconcile themselves to narrow quarters. Professor DeWitt (107-108) places the date of this piece not later than the fall of 42 B. C.

Concerning Catalepton 9 Professors Frank and DeWitt glare at each other across a gulf of fifteen years<sup>37</sup>. Professor Frank (89) calls it a "paean in honor

of Messalla", written after the first Battle of Philippi, in 42, when it seemed as if the 'Republic' would win. This view, according to Professor DeWitt (58), leads to "various absurdities...." Remembering that three weeks after this first battle Messalla was defeated, he considers (58) that the words *victor adest* would be a "violent prolepsis....", not literally fulfilled till 27 B. C. He thinks (60) that Catalepton 9 "falls in 27 B. C. ...." His argument is too long to summarize, but it is interesting and will repay study, for, as Professor DeWitt says (54), "For their autobiographical content these lines are really precious...." In this opinion Professor Frank concurs, for, he says (89), the poem "has <but> few good lines (indeed it was probably never finished), but is exceedingly interesting as a document in Vergil's life....".

We have already paired Catalepton 10 with Catalepton 2. It is in form an amusing parody of a poem by Catullus (4); Vergil lampoons Ventidius Cimper, a praetor who had been a mule-driver.

Catalepton 11, like Catalepton 4, is concerned with Octavius Musa, but is in jesting vein. Vergil laments that Octavius is dead—drunk! Yet this 'son of Bacchus outlived his father!' The commentators suggest that *hunc superesse patri* really means that Bacchus (the wine) had been consumed before Octavius collapsed.

We have said that Catalepton 12, as well as Catalepton 3 and 6, are believed to be epigrams against Antony. Six and 12 are epigrams with a sting. The third has been variously explained as referring to Alexander the Great, Pompey the Great, Mithradates, and Phraates of Parthia, but Professor DeWitt, in *The American Journal of Philology* 33 (1912), 321-323, makes out a strong case for—or we may say against—Mark Antony.

Catalepton 13 is a poem of forty verses which, Professor DeWitt believes (27-28; 66; 164), is also an attack on Antony. It is un-Vergilian in style. Some ascribe it to Horace<sup>38</sup>. If<sup>39</sup> we call it Vergil's, the opening verses certainly seem to imply that once upon a time the poet had been a soldier overseas and had been invalidated home. The verses run thus:

Iacere me, quod alta non possim, putas,  
ut ante, vectari freta  
nec ferre durum frigus aut aestum pati  
neque arma victoris sequi?

'Thinkst thou that, because I may not as aforetime dare the deep, nor bear the chilling cold, nor abide the heat of summer, nor follow the arms of a conqueror, I lie supinely down?'

Professor Frank thinks (24) that this poem was '... Written perhaps in 48 or 47 B. C., directed against some hated martinet of an officer....' Professor DeWitt, on the other hand (27), places the composition in the last months of 46, and thinks (26) that the occasion is

expressed by Professor Rand, especially on pages 306-308, I am in warm sympathy.

In *The Classical Journal* 19.187-191 (December, 1923) Professor H. W. Prescott reviews Professor De Witt's book. He is far more outspoken than Professor Rand in his questioning of Professor De Witt's method (or lack of method) and of his results.

<sup>38</sup>Compare Professor Fairclough, 2.505, note 1 (see note 3, above).  
<sup>39</sup>Here I wish to repeat the warning set forth in notes 30, 37, above. Here the word "If" is very important. Compare the part that an *if*-clause plays in a sentence by Professor Frank (see note 29, above).

<sup>37</sup>In such wide divergences of opinion on the part of two of the leading protagonists of the doctrine that we may accept nearly all of the poems of the Appendix Vergiliana and then proceed to derive therefrom information—autobiographical—concerning Vergil's life I find proof that the sceptical attitude with respect to all this has not yet become absurd. *Quis custodiet custodes?* Even if we grant, or even if it is proved conclusively that all (or most) of the poems of the Appendix were written by Vergil, it will remain true that in the interpretation of the poems and in the use of them as sources for a life of Vergil more restraint must be shown than has been shown, on occasion at least, by Professors De Witt and Frank. There is no evidential value, no proof in a "probably", even if the word be repeated many times. In *Classical Philology* 18 (1923), 303-309 Professor Rand published an article entitled *A Romantic Biography of Vergil*. The article is, in a sense, a review of Professor De Witt's book, *Virgil's Biographia Litteraria*. With much of the scepticism



"nothing else than the crossing of the Adriatic to Dyrrachium, the terrible winter siege that followed, and the battle of Pharsalus fought on a summer's day in the stifling plains of Thessaly. . . ." That the following diatribe has Antony for its object rather than "some hated martinet" of unknown identity, Professor DeWitt has no doubt whatever (27-30, 164).

Catalepton 14 seems, from internal evidence, to have been written while the Aeneid was in progress, or at least when the idea of the great epic was in the poet's mind. The poem is addressed to Venus, and invokes her aid in spreading the fame of Aeneas through the song of the poet, who promises votive offerings to the goddess if she complies.

There is another 'trifle', numbered 15 (sometimes 14 A). But to ascribe it to Vergil would be like contending that Moses wrote Deuteronomy 34. It manifestly refers to the preceding epigrams. Birt<sup>40</sup> thinks it was composed by Varius. That is very likely. Freely rendered, the quatrain runs thus:

'These indeed are the early writings <elementa> of that divine poet who was more charming than the bard of Syracuse <Theocritus>, greater than Hesiod, and not less than Homer in speech; here is his unskilled Calliope <trying her voice> in various song'.

#### MORETUM

The remainder of the Appendix Vergiliana need not detain us long. The Moretum (124 verses) may be found in translation among Cowper's poems; the rendering is entitled "The Salad". It is not accepted as Vergil's by Professor Rand<sup>41</sup> or Professor Frank<sup>42</sup>; but Professor DeWitt thinks (74) that Vergil wrote it "in his happy Neapolitan days. . .", and even Professor Mackail<sup>43</sup> says it is worthy of Vergil. It is not merely a receipt for salad-making, though a fair quarter of the poem is devoted to instruction in that art. Professor Mackail<sup>44</sup> calls it a "highly finished idyl of farm-life. . ."; Professor DeWitt (74) describes it a "thumbnail sketch of great precision and fineness. . ."

#### AETNA

That Vergil wrote the Aetna does not seem unlikely to one who compares several of its verses with his description of the volcano in Aeneid 3 (571-587). Professor DeWitt (98-103) believes that we owe the poem to Vergil's temporary plunge into the study of science, and thinks that in the winter of 44 he was in Sicily and saw the eruption which he describes. Professor Rand<sup>45</sup> accepts the work as genuine, and thinks that Vergil was trying to write in the Lucretian vein. Professor Frank has his doubts (58-63), but on the whole inclines to believe that the poem is by Vergil. Yet he says truly (60) that the poem is "not a happy experiment. . .", and (60) that "... The real trouble with the theme is its hopelessly prosaic ugliness. . ."

#### COPA<sup>46</sup>

Copa, 'The Hostess', is represented as the joyous mistress of a road-house who is her own publicity agent. She dances and shakes her castanets to bedizzen and bedevil weary or unwary travelers, and calls over a menu that would make one's mouth water. Professor Frank (155-156) gives Kirby F. Smith's spirited translation<sup>47</sup>, which opens thus:

'Twas at a smoke-stained tavern, and she, the hostess there—  
A wine-flushed Syrian damsel, a turban on her hair—  
Beat out a husky tempo from reeds in either hand,  
And danced—the dainty wanton—an Ionian sara-band.

As we read on, we are forcibly reminded of Proverbs 7, where another Copa meets a "young man void of understanding" and "with her much fair speech" entices him, especially when we come to the concluding verses and find the Epicurean logic, 'Drink to-day; tomorrow we die!' or, as the hostess phrases it, throwing the responsibility on Death, *Pereat qui crastina curat!* *Mors aurem vellens* "Vivite" ait, "venio".

Professor Frank says, pertinently (156),

... The *Copa* should be read in the arbor of an *osteria* at Sorrento or Capri to the rhythm of the tarantella where the modern offspring of Vergil's tavern-maid are still plying the arts of song and dance upon the passerby.

If the Aetna is Lucretian, no one will hesitate to style the Copa Catullan both in spirit and in expression. Most modern scholars think Vergil was the author of the Copa<sup>48</sup>.

#### DIRAE

The poem called Dirae, or 'Curses' (103 verses), is not easy reading, nor is it agreeable reading. Vergil never intended to publish this piece. Thereby he showed better taste than Ernst Lissauer showed, who put forth his "Hassgersang auf England". The Dirae begin by addressing one Battarus, of whom Professor Fairclough, in The Loeb Classical Library version of the Minor Poems<sup>49</sup>, says nothing is known; he adds "... He was perhaps a neighbour, who, like the poet, was dispossessed of his farm". Professor DeWitt (111) considers the word *Battarus* a transliteration of the Greek *βαρραπος*, and thinks that the god Bacchus is meant. Neither do the obscurities in the poem seem to him insuperable. He says (113)

... Once it is recognized that the Lydia is the nymph of the Etruscan Mincius and the crimes of Thracian Lycurgus against the vineyards and worship of Bacchus are the key to the imaginative parable <of the Dirae>, the whole thing becomes as clear as the sun in a bright Canadian sky. . .

To me, that seems a little over-sanguine. Yet I readily admit that the cause of the Dirae was the seizure of Vergil's lands, and that he felt that, if blight and mildew, drought and potato-bugs disturbed the new owners, he could bear their vexations with equanimity.

<sup>40</sup>See pages 173-177 of the work named in note 36, above.

<sup>41</sup>See pages 178-179 of the work named in note 18, above.

<sup>42</sup>See note 28, above. <sup>43</sup>See note 31, above.

<sup>44</sup>See page 56 of the work named in note 26, above.

<sup>45</sup>See pages 155-172 of the work named in note 18, above.

<sup>46</sup>In connection with the Copa see note 21, above.

<sup>47</sup>This version is to be found in a book entitled *Martial the Epigrammatist and Other Essays* (The Johns Hopkins Press, 1920).

<sup>48</sup>Dr. Drabkin (see note 21, above) shares this view.

<sup>49</sup>See 2.463, note 2 (see note 3, above).

## LYDIA

I rather like the suggestion of Professor DeWitt (111, 113, 140), that naughty Lydia, upon whom Professors Rand<sup>40</sup> and Frank<sup>41</sup> resolutely turn their backs, Lydia, who has been utterly rejected by many scholars, and by others made as mysterious and awful as the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets, is merely the nymph of the "Smooth-sliding Mincius, crowned with vocal reeds", and endowed with authenticity and respectability. Professor DeWitt is no scandal-monger, and he gives (114-118) both the nymph and the poet the benefit of every doubt; his argument is seductive, almost conclusive.

But I hasten to my own conclusion; otherwise *ante diem clauso componet Vesper Olympo*. What are the main deductions which modern scholars draw after a careful and unprejudiced<sup>42</sup> study of the 'Minor Poems of Vergil'?

Professor Rand says<sup>43</sup>:

... careful pondering <on these poems> discovers many a flash of genius, many a similar trait of temperament or of art that impel us, or impel me, to conclude that here, too we find our Virgil. A pastoral mock-heroic at the age of sixteen <*Culex*>; Catullan *Nugae* <*Catalepton*> and a Catullan epyllion <*Ciris*>; a period of stern Lucretian science and revolt from poetry, culminating in a poem on a volcano <*Aetna*>; a frustrated epic during the civil wars and epic stirrings

in the other poems <notably the *Culex*, *Ciris*, and *Aetna*>; pure pastoral delight expressed in various forms <as in the *Culex* and the *Copa*>; a pastoral imprecation inspired by an actual grievance and reflecting contemporary affairs <*Dirae*>—such is the prelude to Virgil's *Bucolics*...

With the foregoing summary let us compare the opinions of Professor DeWitt (166)<sup>44</sup>:

What do we find in the minor corpus? Little mementoes of his beloved Tucca and Varius <*Catalepton* 1, 7>, pretty pastorals of a Neapolitan roadside, like the *Copa* and *Moretum*, bitter lampoons against the man that brought shame upon himself and disgrace upon Caesar <*Catalepton* 3, 6, 12, 13>, lines to Siro's villa voicing pathetic anxiety for a sightless father <*Catalepton* 13>, sallies of satire against the muleteer praetor and the outlandish Atticist, whose bad Greek was deadly as poison <*Catalepton* 10, 2>, tributes to his fellow student and fellow townsman Octavius Musa <*Catalepton* 11>, a gleeful farewell to the Forum, the scented dandies and the bookworm tribe, all mingled in bewildering disarray <*Catalepton* 5>. The *Culex* we must not forget, first heir of his invention, nor the *Ciris*, relic of an abortive friendship, nor the *Aetna*, a frustrated account of the eminence of science, nor the *Dirae*, his kicking against the pricks, nor the much misunderstood *Lydia*, an elegy for the Lydian Mincius, nor the pathetic prayer for continuance of life until the name of Aeneas should ring from city to city in verses worthy of the theme. Is there anything idle or meaningless in the whole series? It is sheer autobiography, the naked milestones of an arduous itinerary.

D. O. S. LOWELL

<sup>40</sup>See pages 182-184 of the work named in note 18, above.

<sup>41</sup>See 131, note 18 (compare note 6, above).

<sup>42</sup>I should myself refuse to grant this epithet to many of the scholars who have handled the general subject of the Appendix Vergiliana. See notes 30, 37, 39, above.

<sup>43</sup>See page 184 of the work named in note 18, above.

<sup>44</sup>I remarked above (note 28) that the Index to Professor Frank's book is inadequate. I remark here that in the Index to Professor De Witt's book (190-192) the item Appendix Vergiliana does not appear!